

Message Text

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INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02
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FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5004
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
ALL NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 07062

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DEL

USEEC

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, NATO, FR, PFOR
SUBJECT: FRENCH OBJECTIONS TO NATO CSCE PREPARATIONS

REF: (A) NATO 6769, (B) STATE 160117, (C) PARIS 20119,
(D) PARIS 20341

SUMMARY: WE SUGGEST CONTINUING OUR PRESENT APPROACH TO
FRENCH OBJECTIONS TO NATO CSCE PAPERS, WHILE CONSIDERING
WHAT ACTION TO TAKE ON THIS ISSUE IN SEPTEMBER IF THE
FRENCH MAINTAIN THEIR OBJECTIONS TO NATO CSCE PAPERS AT
THAT TIME. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE, IF POSSIBLE BY
JULY 26. END SUMMARY.

1. AT JULY 19 POLADS MEETING, FRENCH REP CONTINUED TO OP-
POSE ANY FURTHER NATO PAPERS ON CSCE, EXCEPT FOR CBMS
PAPERS. FRENCH POSITION SEEMED STIFFER THAN IN PREVIOUS
WEEKS, SINCE FRENCH REP EVEN OBJECTED TO A REQUEST BY THE
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ITALIAN REP THAT THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF PREPARE A DRAFT
PAPER INCORPORATING NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS ON REBUTTAL OF
EASTERN CRITICISM IN ORDER TO FACILITATE FURTHER POLADS
CONSULTATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT.

2. SEVERAL POLADS AND INTERNATIONAL STAFF MEMBERS HAVE PRI-
VATELY DISCUSSED MATTER WITH FRENCH REP, WHO OPPOSED ANY

COMPROMISE SOLUTION, SUCH AS CHAIRMAN'S REPORTS OR "NON-PAPERS" PREPARED BY THE IS. FRENCH REP INFORMED US AND OTHERS PRIVATELY THAT SHE WAS AUTHORIZED BY PARIS TO ACCEPT ONLY AN INTERNATIONAL STAFF SUMMARY OF EACH POLADS MEETING. WE AND OTHERS DISCOURAGED THIS PROPOSAL AS A USELESS ADDITIONAL BURDEN FOR THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF THAT WOULD COMPLICATE POLADS WORK GENERALLY AND NOT ASSIST IN CSCE PREPARATIONS.

3. COMMENT: EFFORTS BY SOME POLADS TO PROMOTE AN EARLY AGREEMENT ON A PROCEDURAL SOLUTION TO THE FRENCH PROBLEM SEEM UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED. MOST POLADS APPEAR INCLINED (A) TO CONTINUE TO TEST FRENCH FLEXIBILITY AS CSCE CONSULTATIONS CONTINUE, (B) TO TAKE THE LEAD THEMSELVES IN SYNTHESIZING NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND PREPARING REVISED PAPERS FOR DISCUSSION WHEN THE FRENCH OBJECT TO THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF'S DOING SO, AND (C) TO DELP EL EM-#

BER A POSSIBLE SHOWDOWN WITH THE FRENCH ON AGREED NATO REPORTS ON PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE--POSSIBLY WITH A DISCLAIMER OR CHAIRMAN'S RUBRIC TO MEET FRENCH OBJECTIONS.

4. OUR READING IS THAT THE FRENCH DELEGATION HAS NO FLEXIBILITY AT THIS STAGE AND IS DETERMINED TO BLOCK NATO PAPERS ON CSCE SUBJECTS, OTHER THAN CBMS, PERHAPS BY THREATENING TO WALK OUT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE AS THEY CONFIDENTIAL

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DID EARLIER OVER THE QUESTION OF THE DPC TASKING POLITICAL BODIES. THE FRENCH DELEGATION APPEARS INCREASINGLY INFLEXIBLE ON THIS ISSUE, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE APPEARANCE OF GISCARD'S NEWSWEEK INTERVIEW. WE BELIEVE THEY WOULD STONEWALL IF THE ISSUE IS JOINED NOW.

5. FRENCH CONCERNS ABOUT THE PACE OF WORK AMONG THE NINE AND THE FIFTEEN, AND ABOUT DIFFERENCES AMONG THE NINE ON CSCE ISSUES, MAY CONTRIBUTE TO PRESENT INFLEXIBILITY. HOWEVER, THE GENERAL VIEW OF COLLEAGUES HERE IS THAT DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE FRENCH POSTURE ON CSCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES ARE MORE IMPORTANT FACTORS. ALLIED REPS HAVE ALSO SPECULATED TO US ABOUT THE IMPACT OF FRENCH ANNOYANCE OVER US PRESS STORIES CITING FRENCH SOURCES ON BREZHNEV'S BAD HEALTH, POSSIBLE FRENCH REGRET ABOUT US/UK COSPONSORSHIP OF THE EC-9 AND NATO DRAFT DECISION SHEET, AND GENERAL FRENCH RESERVATIONS ABOUT CONSULTATIONS AT NATO.

6. WHILE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NINE ARE NOW ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP ALLIED VIEWS ON CSCE THAT THE NINE CAN CONSIDER WHEN THEY RESUME CSCE CONSULTATIONS AT THE END OF AUGUST,

THE FRENCH APPEAR INTENT ON STALLING WORK HERE AT LEAST UNTIL THE NINE FIRM UP THEIR POSITION ON BELGRADE. (AT THAT STAGE, OF COURSE, WE MIGHT FACE DIFFICULTIES WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED IN THE PAST IN REOPENING CSCE ISSUES ON WHICH THE POSITIONS OF THE NINE ARE SET.) OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NINE ARE CONTRIBUTING ACTIVELY TO CURRENT CSCE CONSULTATIONS AT NATO. THE FRENCH ARE NOT. MOREOVER, THE FRENCH ARE NOT ONLY RESERVING THEIR POSITION REGARDING EVENTUAL AGREED NATO PAPERS ON THE ALLIED APPROACH TO BELGRADE, BUT ARE ALSO OBJECTING TO THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF'S RESPONDING TO REQUESTS FOR NORMAL DRAFTING SERVICES FOR POLADS' DISCUSSION OF SOME CSCE ISSUES.

7. IN COMING WEEKS, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONTINUE AS CONFIDENTIAL

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APPROPRIATE TO REFER TO THE POSITION WE HAVE PLACED ON RECORD AND OUR DESIRE THAT POLADS WORK ON CSCE PROCEED AS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 NATO 07062

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DEL

BEFORE (REFS A AND B). WE WILL ALSO COOPERATE INFORMALLY

WITH OTHER ALLIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF IN REVISING
POLADS CSCE PAPERS. IN ADDITION, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD PRO-
VIDE FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLADS DISCUSSION OF CSCE DUR-
ING AUGUST, PARTICULARLY ON THOSE POINTS WE WANT THE NINE TO
CONSIDER WHEN THEY RESUME CONSULTATIONS ON PREPARATIONS FOR
BELGRADE.BENNETT

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